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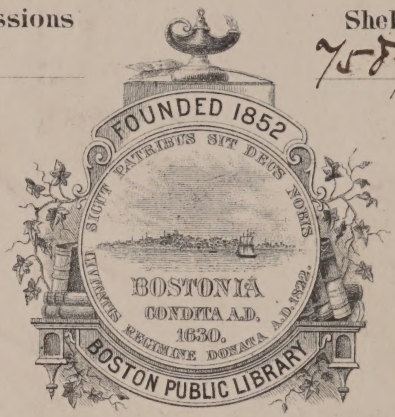


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THE

# WAR AND SLAVERY;

OR,

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# VICTORY

ONLY THROUGH

# EMANCIPATION.

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# VICTORY ONLY THROUGH EMANCIPATION.

It is undeniable that the Southern rebellion is a war for slavery through the overthrow of the Federal Government. Its antecedents, its inception, the speeches and official papers of Davis and Stephens, its history thus far, all show it. Slavery is not only the object of the rebellion, but it is the right arm of its strength. The slaves, by their toil, furnish the sinews of the war the rebels are waging. Without their labor, they could not carry forward their project. The slaves not only till their soil and produce their supplies, but they build their fortifications, strengthen their columns, perform the menial service of their camps, and in a thousand ways contribute to their power, comfort and success. No matter how many men they put into the field, they do not weaken their agricultural force, for the whites do not labor, but almost every man who enters the Northern army is taken from some department of productive labor, and, by so much, diminishes our resources for conducting the war.

If this rebellion, therefore, is to be put down, it will be found necessary to strike the decisive blow at the vulnerable and vital point to be found in the system of slavery. Not only is this necessary to weaken the power of the rebels, but, until it is done, there cannot be that unity, enthusiasm and strength in our own effort that is equal to the task we have in hand to accomplish. There has always been a large class at the North who have believed it to be the duty of the government, at all times, to suppress slavery. To this class, tens of thousands have recently been added, who, while they have had scruples as to the right of the government to do it before, believe it to be both its right and duty to do it now.

They know that whatever protection the slaveholders might claim for their institution while loyal to the Constitution, now that they have *rebelled against that Constitution*, the government is not only absolved from every obligation to protect it, but is bound by its duty to the imperilled nationality — to say nothing here of its duty to the poor slaves themselves — to put an end to the curse and scourge at once and for ever. When, therefore, the government rises to the level of this now almost universal feeling of the people, it will call out that unity of effort and overwhelming enthusiasm that will sweep like an avalanche of power against the rebel forces, and annihilate their strength and scatter them like chaff before the whirlwind, while a mighty phalanx of eight hundred thousand emancipated and able-bodied bondmen would meet them in the rear to finish the glorious victory. But the dallying policy of the government on this subject causes the spirit of the people to flag in the contest, while the moral support of England, France, and other European governments is well nigh lost to our cause, but which a bold and decisive measure of emancipation would fully and effectually secure. Can we hope to succeed in our struggle without evoking the highest type of the heroic endeavor of the people? without calling to our side the moral force of the nations? without rallying the slaves themselves to the standard of the Union and Freedom? If it were possible to gain a bare victory over the rebel forces, and plant our standard once more on our stolen forts and arsenals, and yet leave slavery untouched and the slaveholding oligarchy in possession of its former power, its insolence and domination and the "irrepressible conflict" would still continue, and leave us without any substantial victory or abiding peace, ever and anon to be torn by political convulsions, Kansas raids and slaveholding lynchings and outrages, until the flames of civil war become again enkindled, and we resort once more to the arbitrament of the sword, with this same question confronting us for a settlement. So much for the military and political reasons for emancipation.

But there is other and higher reason to doubt even the temporary success of our arms, while we endeavor to fight rebellion and at the same time preserve *for the rebel South* their darling institution — while we profess to be fighting for

civilization, and yet shield the sternest despotism and the vilest barbarism the world has ever known. That higher reason is found in the fact, that God still governs this world; and he has said, "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation to build and to plant it, if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them, and I will pluck them up and destroy them." He has pledged himself to the cause of the oppressed, to "hear their cry," and to "break in pieces the oppressor." Now, while the Federal Government holds its present attitude on the subject of slavery, it is as really the oppressor as the rebel South, and God will hold us to the responsibility, and cause us to share the penalties of the transgression. The government has admitted the right of slavery in the States; has protected the inter-State slave trade; has assumed the duty of returning fugitives, and has ever held itself ready to quell the efforts of the slaves to throw off their bondage; and even now, its generals, fighting for the government which slavery is seeking to destroy, pledge themselves beforehand to "put down slave insurrections *with an iron hand.*" Now, as before God, though constitutional obligations were piled heaven high, no government could be justified in doing these things, for His authority is supreme for governments as well as for individuals, and the nation that discards this principle and proceeds to acts of tyranny and injustice from a fancied political necessity, is on the high road to destruction, and, without repentance, its doom is inevitable.

The history of all oppressive governments in the past shows that our statement is not the utterance of fanaticism. Where is mighty Babylon, with her "golden cities," her magnificent palaces, her "hanging gardens," and boundless glory and wealth? And where is rich and luxurious Persia, with her "hundred and twenty-seven provinces," stretching "from India over to Ethiopia," and commanding armies of millions? And warlike Greece, famed for her world-wide conquests? And iron-booted and brazen-helmeted Rome, with her millions of slaves, symbolized in the vision of the old prophet by a monster beast, "dreadful and terrible, having great iron teeth, devouring and breaking in pieces, and stamping the residue with his feet," where is she? And

Egypt, with her atheistic King, who said, "Who is the Lord that I should obey his voice to let Israel go?" and then commanded the bondmen "back to their burdens"—where is she? Where are they all? In the language of another of the old Seers, "They have all gone down to hell with their weapons of war, with their iniquities upon their bones, though they were the terror of the mighty in the land of the living." And wherefore are they fallen? They were murderous and oppressive governments—"they destroyed their land and slew their people," and according to the decree of the Almighty, He has "swept them with the besom of destruction." And shall the American government, persevering in its oppression of millions of its people, constitute the solitary exception in the history of the world of a nation escaping the just penalty of its deeds? Not till the fixed laws of God are abolished, and His throne shall take the side of the oppressor.

Therefore, though the Constitution should forbid emancipation, it should nevertheless be done. But it does not forbid, it demands it. It was "ordained to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty." But apart from this, no one has attempted to deny the right of the government, now in a state of war for its very existence, to abolish slavery as a means of preserving that existence. Neither the President, nor Congress, nor the Judiciary has gainsayed this doctrine. If, therefore, the government fails now to act, where its duty is clear and its right undisputed, it must be from the most cowardly or jesuitical policy, involving the most gratuitous, and, therefore, the wickedest complicity with the crime of slaveholding. We now have an opportunity thrust upon us, in the providence of God—that we may be without the shadow of an excuse for not doing it—to redeem the oath, made eighty-five years ago, that, if God would give us victory over our enemy, we would found a government on the doctrine declared to be "self-evident," that "God has created all men equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." I say we made oath to do this, for when we put forth the Declaration and entered upon the struggle to make it good, we "*appealed to the Searcher of hearts for the rectitude of our intentions.*" Not having ful-

filled this pledge, so solemnly made, we stand before God a perjured nation to-day. For eighty-five years we have endeavored to cement the Union with the blood of the slaves, to bind it together by laws for their capture and return to bondage, and to fortify it with compromises, leaving our oath unaccomplished; and the "*Searcher of hearts*" *has seen it.* Now behold the retribution! These bloody sacrifices to the Slave Power have whetted its appetite for dominion and cruelty, and more blood, and now it seeks to satiate itself by slaughtering the very people who have officiated at its altar in these bloody rites; not now to cement the Union, but in diabolical effort to destroy it for ever. If we are not a nation of atheists, how can we hope for success in this war until we free our soul of perjury by "establishing justice and bidding the oppressed go free"? The war, itself, is a retribution for our complicity with slavery. By compromise and concession we have strengthened the Slave Power, and now it demands supreme sovereignty, and lays hold of conspiracy and treason to compass its ends. This is God's law of compensation. We have "sown the wind," and now we "reap the whirlwind."

The loyal souls who take this view of the case, though they mourn over the loss of brave men slaughtered at Big Bethels and Bull Runs, and hide their faces in shame at the defeat and disgrace of our arms, yet they accept it all as a divine chastisement of the nation, and they will expect disaster upon disaster until the National Government, clothed as it is with national responsibilities towards all its subjects, shall "proclaim liberty throughout ALL THE LAND, unto ALL THE INHABITANTS thereof." But instead of doing this, in the very hour of the nation's defeat, disgrace and great calamity, in which the voice of the Almighty seemed as audible as when He spoke in the "tempest and thunderings" of Sinai, Congress proceeds to declare "that the war is not for the overthrow of the institution of any State," meaning thereby slavery. One would have thought that if the bombardment of Sumter, the massacres of Big Bethel and Vienna, and the assassinations of Baltimore, were not enough to prevent further compromises, at least the enemy's cannon of Bull Run and the rebel barbarities of that battle scene would have silenced the voice of concession and called forth stern meas-

ures of retribution against that iniquitous system that had hatched the foul treason into existence and made strong the conspirators for their work of destruction and overthrow.

The rebellion is now so formidable, so defiant, so murderous in its character, that all attempts at conciliation are not only useless, but are actually affording aid and comfort to the foe, and placing the government in the ridiculous posture of exerting itself against its own cause. This is plainly a war of slavery against freedom, of a bloated aristocracy against the equal rights and dignity of the poor and laboring many, and the government should boldly meet the enemy on his own issue, and strike for the freedom of all; restore the national sovereignty wherever the slave oligarchy has caused it to trail in the dust. How long shall we by concessions and half-measures weaken our own cause only to provoke the contempt of our foe? Strike, in the name of God, at his vulnerable point, free the slaves and let them swell the army of freedom, and thus save the lives of our brave men, and prevent the utter bankruptcy of the people, by bringing the war to a speedy and triumphal close. All the blood and treasure that are expended, that emancipation would save, the government is responsible for. Dare it take this responsibility any longer? Had it rather welcome bloody battles, disgraceful and ruinous defeats, and the lamentation and mourning of the people, than to lay its crushing hand upon that accursed thing, named human slavery? If so, God will give us battle, defeat and mourning to our full. North and South will both suffer until the one great object for which God means the war is accomplished — THE FREEDOM OF THE ENSLAVED.

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John. Treatise
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Jonas B. The evil
.....1376.17; 1388.23
Watts. Camilla's
nd.....1369.19
Wendell. Speech-
tures, and letters. 864.20
on woman's
..... 878.8
udd, S. ..... 358.7
ÆUS. Works. 3 v. 845.7
ES. Sophocles.
814.5; 830.14
r, Modern.
t, B. W. .....392.5, 6
A, The ..... 1828.1

Philipena.

ERS. Diogenes
us. Lives and
ns of eminent.... 834.10
, F. (de S. de la
Ancient..... 820.42
ICAL theories and
ence. Cornwallis,
.....v. 1 of 850.25
ICAL writers. De
y, T..... 895.20
Y. Campbell, G.
ophy of rhetoric. 405.6
er, W. B. Me-
al..... 836.7
, E. V. Intro-
n to the study of. 403.8
h, S. G. Glance
.....v. 14 of 1869.1
on, *Sir* W. Dis-
ns on..... 872.1
C. S. Epitome
history of..... 820.45
, J. A. The eclec-
or later Plato-
..... 395.14
cal ..... 395.14
G. H. Biographi-
tory of..... 840.34
s, W. Stoical .. 395.14
S. Examination
W. Hamilton's... 812.1
J. C. Studies in. 1829.11
an, W. A. His-
..... 855.1
IUS, Ecclesiasti-
*See* So-
s, H..... 845.9
virgins. Euripi-
.....v. 1 of 830.15
s, Sanchoniatho's
gy of the..... 898.8
Euripides..v. 1 of 814.9

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PHYSICS, *continued.*
— Whewell, W. General physics considered with reference to natural theology ..... 826.4
PHYSIOGNOMY. Bartlett, J. 878.12
PHYSIOLOGY. Agassiz, L. (J. R.) Outlines of comparative ..... 816.12
— Barlow, J. Connection between physiology and intellectual philosophy. v. 1 of 850.25
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— Griscom, J. H. Animal mechanism and ..... 810.78
PIANOFORTE, Art of playing upon the. Spencer, C. C..... 829.6
PIATT, J. J. Western windows and other poems..1327.27
— and S. M. B. The nests at Washington, and other poems ..... 1405.1
PICARD family, Sufferings of the, after the wreck of the Medusa..... 830.31
PICCOLOMINI, The. Schiller, (J. C.) F. von....v. 3 of 327.10 818.10; v. 7 of 886.2 v. 3 of 1316.8
PICKERING, C. The races of man ..... 815.3
PICKERING, W. Aldine edition of the British poets. 53 v.

*Namely:*—Akenside, M. (319.1); Beattie, J. (319.2); Burns, R. (319.3); Butler, S. (319.4); Chaucer, G. (319.5); Churchill, C. (319.6); Collins, W. (329.1); Cowper, W. (319.7); Dryden, J. (319.8); Falconer, W. (329.2); Goldsmith, O. (329.4); Gray, T. (339 2); Howard, H., *earl of Surrey* (329.11); Milton, J. (329.6); Parnell, T. (329.7); Pope, A. (339.3); Prior, M. (329.8); Shakespeare, W. (329 9); Spenser, E. (329.10); Swift, J. (329.12); Thomson, J. (329.13); White, H. K. (329.5); Wyatt, T. (339.1); Young, E. (329.14).

PICTORIAL calendar of the seasons. Howitt, M. .. 825.10
PICTORIAL handbook of London ..... 847.10
PICTURE, The. Massinger, P. .....353.4; v. 3 of 353.8 v. 2 of 357.14
PICTURE of St. John. Tay-

Shelf.

PILGRIM, J. Eveleen Wilson. 1369.18; 1380.2; 13
— Katty O'Sheal .....137
— The Limerick boy.1377.4; 137
— Paddy the piper..... 13 1388.35
— Robert Emmet.....136 1378.15; 1379.22; 13
— Servants by legacy.....137 1378.21; 138
— Shandy Maguire ..... 13 1379.5, 26; 1381.3; 138
— Wild Irish girl.....136
PILGRIM, The. Beaumont, F.....v. 8 of 3
PILGRIM of Glencoe. Campbell, T....324.9; 346.14; 13
PILGRIM to Compostella. Southey, R. .....311.3 v. 7 of 13
PILGRIM's progress. Bunyan, J. ..... 8
— – Same. In verse. *See* Dyer, E. P.....132
PILGRIMS of the sun. Hogg, J. .....v. 2 of 3
PILOT, The. Fitzball, E. 1368.7; 1
PINDAR, C. L. Melpomene divina..... 13
PINDARUS. [Odes.] Translated by C. A. Wheelwright ..... 83
— – Same. Translated by D.W.Turner. Adjoined A metrical version, by A. Moore..... 82
— Translations from. *See* Heber, R. .....358.16; 13
PIOZZI, H. L. Anecdotes of S. Johnson .....165
PIPPA passes. Browning, R. v. 1 of
PIRATE, The. Marryat, F... 3
PIRATE, The. Scott, *Sir* W. v. 4 of
PIRATE of the isles. Clarke, N. H. B. .....136
PIRATE's legacy. Saunders, C. H. .1369.19; 1379.18; 13
PIRATES' glen and dungeon rock. Ames, N. .....13
PITCAIRN's island and its inhabitants. Barrow, *Sir* J. .....389 1; 8
PITT, G. D. The drunkard's doom .....13
— The last man.....13 1379.6, 26; 1
PITT, W., *earl of Chatham*. Essay on. *See* Macaulay, C.

Shelf. No.

NCHÉ, E. A pleasant neighbor ..... 1376.8
1378.1; 1388.35, 39
NCHÉ, J. R. Beauty and the beast ..... 1376.2
The brigand....1369.2; 1388.34
British costume. Lond. 1847..... 840.51
- Same. Lond. 1849.... 839.3
The captain of the watch. 1376.2
Charles XII..... 1367.6
Faint heart never won fair lady..... 1367.6
The follies of a night.... 1367.6
Grist to the mill.....1369.11
1378.14; 1384.2; 1388.40
The invisible prince..... 1376.1
The Irish post.....1376.11
1382.3; 1388.35, 37
The Jacobite....1376.3; 1388.21
King Charming..1376.9; 1388.8
Lavater, the physiognomist..1369.18; 1378.20 ;1379.25
The loan of a lover..... 1376.1
The pride of the market. 1376 2
The printer's devil.....1378.12
Promotion.....1377.2; 1388.23
Secret service..... 1376.4
1378.3; 1388.26
Somebody else..1377.10; 1379.27
and Dance, C. High, low, Jack, and the game. 1377.1; 1388.16
NET, The. Best, Larry.1339.24
NTAGENETS and Tudors. Forster, J. .....v. 1 of 894.3
NTING and training of the Christian church. Neander, (J.) A. (W.).... 848.9
NTS. Schouw, J. F. ... 826.5
STERING. Burnell, G. R. 819.32
TO. Works. 6 v..... 814.3

*Contents.*—Vol. I. The ology of Socrates; Crito; hædo; Gorgias; Protagoras; hædrus; Theætetus; Euthyphron; Lysis. II. The republic; Timæus; Critias. III. Meno; Euthydemus; The sophist; The statesman; Cratylus; Parmenides; The banquet. IV. Philebus; Charmides; Laches; Menexenus; Hippias major; Hippias minor; Ion; First Alcibiades; Second Alcibiades; The ages; The rivals; Hipparchus; Minos; Clitopho; The epistles. V. The laws. VI. The doubtful works: Epinomis; Axiochus; Eryxias; On virtue; On justice; Sisyphus; Demodocus; Definitions; Timæus Locrus; Lives of Plato, by Diogenes Laertius, Hesychius, and Olympiodorus; Introduc-

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PLAUTUS, T. M., *continued.*
Menæchmi; Aulularia; Captivi; Asinaria; Curculio. II. Amphitryon; Rudens; Mercator; Cistellaria; Truculentus; Persa; Casina; Pœnulus; Epidicus; Mostellaria; Fragments.

PLAYS, Treatise against vaine. Northbrooke, J. 342.13
PLEASANT neighbor. Planché, E. ..1376.8; 1378.1; 1388.35, 39
PLEASURES of hope. Campbell, T..... 324.9
346.13, 14; 369.18; 1316.4
PLEASURES of memory. Rogers, S.....v. 2 of 312.1
PLEASURES of the imagination. Akenside, M. v. 1 of 312.1
319.1; 358.25; 369.27; 1316.1
PLEIAD, The. Wrangham, F. 830.41
PLINIUS CÆCILIUS SECUNDUS, C. Letters. 2 v. 898.17
PLINIUS SECUNDUS, C. Natural history. 6 v..... 844.7
PLOTINUS. Jeremie, J. A... 395.14
PLUMPTRE, C. J. Principles and practice of elocution. 393.5
PLUNKETT, H. G. The minerali.....1368.10; 1388.14
PLUTARCHUS. Select lives. 5 v..... 850.1
PLUTUS. Aristophanes. v. 2 of 834.13
PNEUMATICS. Lardner, D. v. 1 of 365.14; 398.9
— Tomlinson, C. Pneumatics for beginners..... 819.10
POACHER'S progress. Howitt, W..... 825.5
PO-CA-HON-TAS. Brougham, J. .....356.17; 1376.9; 1388.8
POCKET miscellany. Chambers, W..... 367.1
POCKET schoolmaster..... 406.26
POCOCK, I. The miller and his men..... 1369.3
1379.3; 1388.9, 40
— Rob Roy Macgregor.....1368.2
— The robber's wife.....1369.10
1379.21; 1380.1; 1381.3
POE, E. A. Works. 4 v. .. 887.1

*Contents.*—Vol. I. Notices of his life and genius, by J. R. Lowell and N. P. Willis; Memoir, by R. W. Griswold; Tales. II. Poems; Eureka; Tales. III. The literati; Marginalia; Fifty suggestions. IV. Arthur Gordon Pym; Miscellanies.

— Poems..... 1399.4
— Poetical works.....1339.15
— E. Poe and his critics. *See*

POETIC, The. Aristoteles
POETICAL fate book.....
POETICAL literature of t past half century. Mo D. M. .....
POETICAL literature of t West, Selections fr the. Gallagher, W. D.
POETRY. Aristoteles. Tr tise on the poetic....
— Campbell, T. Essay English.....36
— Cheever, G. B. Studi in .....
— Montgomery, J. L tures on.....405.
— Shairp, J. C. Studies

*Collections:*

— Adams, H. G. Cyclop dia of poetical quo tions .....
— Aikin, J. Select wo of the British poets.
— Alexander, C. F. S day book of poetry..
— Alger, W. R. Poetry the East.....
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— - Specimens of the sian poets.....
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— Campbell, T. Specim of the British poets.
— Davesiès de Pontès, Poets and poetry of many.....
— Dictionary of quotat from the British poe
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— Dulcken, H. W. golden harp .....
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— Elton, C. A. Specim of the classic poets
— Fletcher, J. M. G leaflets .....
— Gallagher, W. D. S tions from the poe

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K, F. G. Selections
he British poets.. 820.25
, W. Select poets
eat Britain..... 312.9
J. W. Rural
y of the English
nge..... 314.3
J. Love poems
nations.....1327.29
S. Specimens of
can poetry..... 339.4
Pearls from the
can female poets. 325.13
F. Poetry of the
860-65..... 241.1
prize poems..... 349.15
e, F. T. Golden
ry of the best
and lyrical poems
English language.1325.17
J. W. Poetry of
ment and court-
.....1348.11
J. Humorous
.....324.15; 1324.2
e, C. (K.) Chil-
garland from the
oets..... 373.17
T. Reliques of
t English poetry.
332.3; 1409.5
V. Specimens of
ets and poetry of
and Rome..... 315.1
, W. Female
f Great Britain.. 321.2
ns from female
..... 369.15
C. W. Book of
ons..... 356.25
, R. Select works
British poets,
58..... 312.11
ns of the British
..... 369.12
ath: a collection
ns..... 369.9

Ballads, Songs.

life. Ellis, S. S. 908.6
the age of fable. 364.10
the bells. Batch-
., *jr.*..... 375.14
ll, R. Lives of
t English..... 398.2
cey, T. Essays
..... 895.15
, A. (M.) Loves
..... 359.11
. Lectures on

Shelf. No.

Poland. Dunham, S. A. History of..... 378.9
— Fletcher, J. History of. 810.30
Polar sea, Expedition to the. Wrangell, F. von. 820.49
Polar seas. Hawks, F. L. Uncle Philip's conversations about the.....1859.19
— Murray, H. Discovery and adventure in the... 810.15
Polarization and double refraction of light. Brewster, *Sir* D. .....v. 1 of 365.14
Polite learning in Europe. Goldsmith, O. ....v. 1 of 906.3
Political economy. De Quincey, T. Dialogues on ..... 386.8
— - Logic of..... 905.12
— Lieber, F. Property and labour..... 820.47
— Potter, A. Objects, uses, and principles of..... 830.3
Political science. Aristoteles. The politics ..... 834.9
— Brougham, H., *lord.* Objects, pleasures, and advantages of..... 840.6
— - Opinions on politics, law, etc. .....888.1, 2
— Camp, G. S. Democracy. 820.40
— Coleridge, S. T. Constitution of church and state.....v. 6 of 886.2
— - Statesman's manual. v. 1 of 886.2
— Guizot, F. (P. G.) History of civilization..... 837.5
— - Origin of representative government in Europe. 817.7
— Macaulay, T. B., *lord.* Parliamentary reform. 409.18; 1655.20
— Long, G. Cyclopædia of political knowledge.... 859.5

*See also* Constitution.

Political tracts relating to the Hanoverian succession. De Foe, D..v. 6 of 833.9
Politics, The. Aristoteles. 834.9
Politics and literature in Europe and America in 1827. 830.38
Polko, E. Musical sketches. 865.11
Pollok, R. Course of time. Hartford ..... 345.5
— - Same. Phil. .....v. 3 of 312.1
Polo, M. Travels. Lond. 857.6
— - Same. N. Y. ..... 820.67
Poltroonius. Head, E. F..1378.11
Polynesia; account of the

Shelf. No.

Pontic epistles. Ovidius Naso, P. ..... 8
Poole, J. Married and single ....1368.1; 1378.10; 13
— Paul Pry.....1368.1; 13
— Simpson and co...1367.8; 13
— Soldier's courtship.....137
1378.18; 1379 25; 1388.22
— 'T would puzzle a conjurer .....1376.6; 138
Poole, S. L. The Englishwoman in Egypt. 3 v. 8
Poole, T. Deaf as a post. 13
1378.1; 138
Poor of New York..1369.2; 138
Poor gentleman. Colman, G., *the younger.* v. 21 of 3
v. 4 of 357.15; 1355.12; 13
Poor Pillicoddv. Morton, J. M... 1377.8; 1379.10; 138
Pope, A. Complete poetical works. Hartford. 2 v. 3

*Contents.*—Vol. I. Memoir; Author's preface; Pastorals; Translations and imitations; Imitations of English poets; Windsor forest; Odes for music; Eloisa to Abelard; Elegy to the memory of an unfortunate lady; Prologues and epilogues; Battle of the frogs and mice; 1740, a poem; Miscellanies; Fugitive pieces; Epigrams; Epitaphs; Johnson's criticisms on epitaphs; Commendatory poems. II. Essay on man; Moral essays; Satires of J. Donne; Epistles and satires of Horace; Essay on criticism; Rape of the lock; The Dunciad; Miscellaneous epistles; Imitations of English poets; Eloisa to Abelard; Prologues and epilogues; Key to the lock; Miscellaneous epistles.

— Poetical works. Lond. 1851. 3 v. ..... 3

*Contents.*—Vol. I. Memoir; Pastorals; Messiah; Windsor forest; Rape of the lock; Eloisa to Abelard; Sappho to Phaon; The fable of Dryope; Vertumnus and Pomona; The first book of Statius's Thebais. II. Essay on criticism; Essay on man; Universal prayer; Moral essays; Ode for music on St. Cecilia's day; Epistle to Robert, earl of Oxford and Mortimer; Epistles; Prologues; Epigrams; Imitation of English poets. III. Satire epistles, and odes of Hora imitated; Satires of J. Don versified; Epitaphs; Dunciad.

— - Same. Lond. 1858.

Shelf. No.

, A., *continued.*

iah; Windsor forest; Rape f the lock; Eloisa to Abelard; Sappho to Phaon; Miscella- eous poems; First book of Statius's Thebais. II. Es- ay on criticism; Essay n man; Moral essays; Mis- ellaneous poems; Temple of ame; January and May, from Chaucer; The wife of Bath, rom Chaucer; Imitations of English poets. III. Satires, pistles, and odes of Horace mitated; Satires of J. Donne, ersified; Epitaphs; The unciad.

elect poetical works. Leip..... 1409.3

*Contents.*—Life; Pastorals; Messiah; Windsor forest; Ode n St. Cecilia's day; Odes; Essay on criticism; Rape of he lock; Eloisa to Abelard; Temple of fame; January nd May, from Chaucer; The vife of Bath, from Chaucer; mitations; Essay on man; Moral essays; Miscellanies; Epitaphs.

loisa to Abelard...v. 1 of 312.1
v. 2 of 369.12
ssay on criticism.v. 2 of 369 12
ssay on man .....v. 1 of 312.1
emoir, with extracts rom his correspondence. 869.13
ape of the lock....v. 1 of 312.1
v. 2 of 369.12
arruthers, R. Life of..835.12
oward, G. W. F. Lec- ure on the poetry of... 409.3
1655.25
of Rome. Boucicault, ). (L.) .....1369.7; 1382.1
s, History of the. Ranke, (F.) L. von..... 838.1
ING the question. Buck- tone, J. B..... 1376.8
1378.1; 1388.26
LAR antiquities of Great Britain. Brand, J..... 846.8
LAR ignorance, Evils of. oster, J...833.3; 878 19; 909.1
LAR songs of Ireland. roker, T. C..... 385.6
LAR tumults, Sketches .....850.14
AIN. Bohn, H. G. le to the knowledge .....835.11
G. R. Manufac- .....408.11
s. Introduction Organon. *See* les..... 834.12

Shelf. No.

PORTLAND sketch book. Stephens, A. S..... 888.10
PORTLOCK, J. E. Rudimentary treatise on geology. 819.4
PORTRAITS of illustrious personages of Great Britain. Lodge, E..... 815.1
PORTUGAL. Busk, M. M. History of..... 365.1
— Dunham, S A. History of. 368 8
— Herbert, H. J. G. Account of..... 889.8
— Shelley, M. W. Literary and scientific men of... 398.1
POTTER, A. Handbook for readers and students... 820.60
— Political economy: its objects, uses, and principles ..... 830.3
POTTERY, Guide to the knowledge of. Bohn, H. G..... 835.11
POVERTY, Blessings of. Bartlett, J..... 878.12
POWELL, B. Evidences of Christianity ..... 1839.1
POWER, T. Born to good luck ...1376 6; 1378.9; 1388.13
— How to pay the rent.....1376 1
— Paddy Carey .....1376.9; 1388.8
— St. Patrick's eve.1376.2; 1378.19
PRACTICAL piety. More, H. v. 4 of 907.2
PRAED, W. M. Poetical works. N. Y. 1854..... 346.5
— - Same. N. Y. 1857.....1395.28
— - Same. N. Y. 1860, 2 v. 376.2
PRATT, A. The field, the garden, and the woodland..... 850.5
— Flowers and their associations ..... 850.4
PRATT, W. W. Ten nights in a bar-room..... 1379.4
PRAYER, Spirit of. More, H. v. 7 of 907.2
PRELACY, Reason of church government urged against. Milton, J..v. 2 of 838.7
PRELATICAL espiscopacy. Milton, J.....v. 2 of 838.7
PRELUDE, The. Wordsworth, W..... 311.1
344.1; v. 7 of 1319.7
PRÉMICES. Palfrey, S. H...1395.25
PRENTICE, G. D. Prenticeana.....1817.17
PRENTICEANA. Prentice, G. D.....1817.17
PRESCOTT, W. H. Biographical and critical mis-

PREUSS, H. C. Fashio and follies of Washin ton life.....
PRICE, E. Norway and scenery.....
PRIDE and lowliness. Thyr F.....
PRIDE of the market. Pla ché, J. R.....
PRIDEAUX, T. S. Econo of fuel.....
PRINCE, The. Machiave N.....
PRINCE's ball. Stedman, C.....
PRINCELY bride. Amalie, F. A.....v.
PRINCESS, The. Tennyson, v. 2 of 334.19; v. 1 v. 2 of 1339.2
PRINCIPLES form charact Wehner, J. H.....
PRINCIPLES of criminal l v.
PRINTER's devil. Planc J. R.....
PRINTING. Stark, A.....
PRIOR, M. Poetical wo Lond. 2 v.....

*Contents.*—Vol. I. Life J. Mitford; Henry and ma; Miscellaneous poems imitations. II. Miscellan poems; Alma, or the prog of the mind; Solomon o vanity of the world; cellaneous poems; The t and sparrow; Down-ha ballad; Songs; Miscellan

— - Same. Bost. 2 v.

*Contents.*—Same as prec

— Alma.....v.
— Henry and Emma..v.
— Solomon on the vanit the world.....v
PRISON amusements. M gomery, J. 311.5; v.
PRISON books and t authors. Langford, A.....
PRISONER of Chillon. ron, G. (G. N.), v. 3 of 323.2; v. 3 of 358.29; v.
PRISONER of war. Jer D.....
PRITCHARD, A. Optica struments.....v.
PRIVATEERSMAN, The. ryat, F.....
PRIZE poems, Oxford

Shelf. No.

B. W, *continued.*
s and tales in prose.
..... 875.4
E. D. Poems...1347.23
R at the breakfast-
Holmes, O. W. 903.14
of dulness. Trum-
J. ..... 314.9
IVE speaker. Tow-
..... 385.2
R, The. Nota, A. 345.3
EUS bound. Æschy-
.....v. 1 of 1326.3
EUS chained. Æs-
S .....359.6; 814.6
EUS unbound. Shel-
. B. ..311.8; v. 1 of 1318.5
N. Planché, J. R.
1377.2; 1388.23
ATION and spel-
Manual of English.
, R., *jr.* ..... 386.6
and labour. Lie-
'. ..... 820.47
of Dante. Byron,
. N.), *lord*..v. 4 of 323.2
5 of 347.1; v. 3 of 1409.2
SS, The. Beau-
F. .....v. 8 of 351.2
lass-book of Eng-
Demaus, R. ..... 394.6
l poetry of Europe
America. Morris,
..... 321.3
iters of America.
old, R. W. ..... 872.12
AS. Plato..v. 1 of 814.3
NT church and reli-
liberty in France.
ington, W. H..... 873.13
NTISM, Conflicts of
pes with. Ranke,
. von ..... 838.1
*ather*, Reliques of.
ahony, F. ..... 853.16
. Chemistry, me-
ogy, and digestion,
eference to natural
gy ..... 826.16
AL and moral
hts. Hanger, C. H. 375.23
AL philosophy.
r, M. F. ....v. 4 of 887.3
1349.10
. Bohn, H. G.
lot of foreign.... 856.14
A. The proverbs
otland..... 373.6
N. K. Proverbs of
tions..... 396.9
. Handbook of.. 856.12

Shelf. No.

PSALMS, in verse. Milton, J.
v. 2 of 312.3; 312.6
v. 1 of 321.1; v. 3 of 329.6
359.3, 4; v. 2 of 843.9
v. 3 of 1317.11
PSEUDOLUS. Plautus, T. M.
v. 1 of 824.12
PSYCHOLOGY, Fragment of a work on. Follen, C. (T. C.).....v. 3 of 877.1
PUBLIC characters. Brougham, H., *lord*..... 888.3
PUBLIC rights, duties and interests. Brougham, H., *lord* ..... 862.1
PUBLIC service, The press and the..... 868.6
PUBLIUS SYRUS, Choice sayings of..... 898.8
PULCI, L. Morgante Maggiore. *See* Byron, G. (G. N.), *lord*.....v. 5 of 323.2
v. 5 of 347.1; v. 3 of 1409.2
PULPIT elocution. Russell, W. 405.21
PULPIT table-talk. Ramsay, E. B.....1819.12
PULTOCK, R. *See* Peter Wilkins.
PUMMILL, J. Russet leaves. 1817.25
PUNCH. Vol. 1–12, 15–18, 21–26, 28–47, 51–55. 48 v. in 37..... 832.1
PUNCH's letters and complete letter writer. Jerrold, D. .....v. 5 of 906.1
PUNCTUATION, Treatise on English. Wilson, J. ... 405.17
PURE gold. Marston, (J.) W. 1369.19
PURITAN, The.....v. 1 of 331.2
PURLEY, Diversions of. Tooke, J. Horne ..... 402.10
PURPLE island. Fletcher, P. 312.11
PURSUIT of knowledge under difficulties. Craik, G. L. 820.3; 840.16, 17; 849.4, 21
PUTLITZ, G. zu. What the woods talk about..... 878.5
PUTNAM, M. L. Tragedy of errors ..... 373.5
— Tragedy of success.....1325.14
PUTNAM the brave, Story of. Stoddard, R. H..... 1320.1
PUTNAM, the iron son of '76. Bannister, N. H. 1369.17; 1379.22
PUTNAM's monthly magazine. Vol. 1–5; new series, v. 1, 2. 7 v..... 1841.1
PYCROFT, J. Course of English reading. Lond. 405.18
— – Same. N. Y..... 405.19
PYM, A. Gordon, Narrative

She

QUADRUPEDS, *continued.*
— Natural history of..... 8
— Swainson, W. Natural history and classification of ..... 8
QUAKER, The. Dibdin, C. v. 4 of
QUARLES, F. Emblems, divine and moral ..... 3
QUARRELS of authors. Disraeli, I. .....v. 2 of
QUARRYING of stone. Burgoyne, *Sir* J. ..... 8
QUARTERLY review, Papers from the..... 8
QUASH, or nigger practice. Brookes, G. .....13
QUATREMÈRE de Quincy, A. C. Life of Raphael. *See* Duppa, R. .....
QUEEN of Corinth. Beaumont, F. .....v. 5 of
QUEEN Annelida and false Arcite. Chaucer, G. v. 6 of 319.5; v. 2 of
QUEEN Hynde. Hogg, J. v. 3 of
QUEEN Mab. Shelley, P. B. 311.8; v. 1 of 1
QUEEN-MOTHER, The. Swinburne, A. C. .....13
QUEEN's heart.....1379.2; 1
QUEEN's wake. Hogg, J. v. 1 of 355.8; 13
QUENTIN Durward. Scott, *Sir* W. .....v. 4 of
QUIET family, A. Suter, W. 13
1378.6; 13
QUINCY, J. P. Charicles ...
— Lyteria..... 3
— – Same. 2d ed..... 3
QUINTILIANUS, M. F. Institutes of oratory. 2 v.
QUOTATIONS. Adams, H. G. Cyclopædia of poetical. 3
— Bartlett, J. Familiar... 3
— Dictionary of.....
— Elmes, J. Classic .....13
— Hale, S. J. Dictionary of poetical.....
— Riley, H. T. Dictionary of Latin and Greek.....
— Shakespeare, W. Shakespearian.....
QUOTATIONS of humor, wit and wisdom..... 1

RABBE, A., and Duncan, J. History of Russia. 2 v. 8
RACES of man. Pickering, C.

Shelf. No

PICKER of Paris. Stirling, E. .....1368.5; 1378.15
WAY morals and railway policy. Spencer, H.1655.25
WAYS. Stephenson, R. M. ..... 829.1
BOW around the tomb. Thornwell, E. .....1327.17
NG the wind. Kenney, .....v. 1 of 354.2
1376.4; 1378.6; 1388.26
's progress. Rede, V. L. ..... 1379.3
IGH, *Sir* W., and his ime. Kingsley, C. .... 894.6
ALLEY. Barry, L..v. 2 of 331.2
LER, The. Johnson, S. . 19–22 of 850.24; v. 1 of 901.6
LES among words. winton, W. .....393.15; 396.6
LES by rivers. Thorne, ..... 850.18
AY, A. Works. 3 v... 326.4
AY, E. B. Pulpit table-alk.....1819.12
eminiscences of Scotish life and character. dinb. 2 v..... 295.8
Same. Bost. ..... 1907.1
, E. S., *jr.* Life memries; and other poems. 375.24
OLPH, A. D. T. The hanged cross, and other eligious poems.....1338.10
OLPH, T. The muse's ooking-glass .....v. 2 of 331.2
OM recollections of the ouse of commons. rant, J. ..... 868.10
OM recollections of the ouse of lords. Grant, J. 868.9
E, (F.) L. von. Ferdiand I and Maximilian of Austria...409.27; 1655.15
story of Servia. Addd, The slave provinces f Turkey, [by] C. Robt ..... 827.1
story of the popes in he 16th and 17th cenries. 3 v..... 838.1
view of Ranke's Hisry of the popes. *See* acaulay, T. B., *lord.* 409.20; 1655.19
N, J. E. Gems for the idal ring.....1329.21
of Lucrece. Shakeeare, W. .313.2; v. 7 of 322.4
v. 8 of 326.2; 329.9
v. 7 of 394.7; 1318.4

Shelf. No.

RAYMOND, R. J. Mr. and Mrs. Peter White.....1377.11
1379.27
RAYMOND, R. R. The patriotic speaker ..... 382.3
RAYMOND and Agnes. Lewis, M. G. .....1369.2; 1388.34
RAYNER, B. F. The dumb boy of Manchester ..... 1379.4
RAYON d'amour. Hancock, S. J. .....1328.26
REACH, A. B. Jenny Lind at last.....1377.5
1378.4; 1379.17; 1388.18
READ, H. F. Dramatic poems ..... 332.4

*Contents.* — Medea; Ermina; The new world.

READ, T. B. The new pastoral ..... 325.8
— The Russian ball..... 1337.5
— Sylvia; and other poems. 349.13
READE, C. The eighth commandment ..... 893.13
— The king's rival. *See* Taylor, T. ..... 1368.7
— Masks and faces. *See* Taylor, T. ..... 1369.8
1378.14, 22; 1388.9
— Two loves and a life. *See* Taylor, T.....1369.12
1384.2; 1388.31, 41
— White lies. *See* Turner, C.1378.16
READERS and students, Handbook for. Potter, A. ..... 820.60
READING. Cox, E. W. Art of..... 1397.3
— Pycroft, J. Course of English .....405.18, 19
READING abbey, Legend of. Mac Farlane, C. ..... 840.33
READING book, Illustrated London ..... 405.2
REALITIES of Paris life. 3 v. 883.13
REASON, Critique of pure. Kant, I. ..... 855.5
REASON of church government urged against prelacy. Milton, J....v. 2 of 838.7
REBEL, The. Bulwer-Lytton, E. (G. E. L.).....1394.10
REBELLION, The. Rawlins, T.....v. 3 of 331.2
REBELLIONS in Scotland. Chambers, R. ....830.34, 44, 50
RECOLLECTION of O'Flannigan and the fairies. Brougham, J. .....1376.11
1378.10, 22; 1388.37

RECREATIONS of Christophe North. Wilson, J. ...
RECREATIONS of the Germa emigrants. Goethe, W. von.....
RECREATIVE arts. Baker, M. Amateur dramas.
— Bohn, H. G. Handboo of games .....
— Walker, D. Manly exe cises .....
RECRUITING officer, Th Farquhar, G.....v. 4
v. 8 of 354.1; v. 7
RED mask. Brougham, J.
REDDEN, L. C. (*Howa Glyndon.*) Idyls of ba tle and poems of the r bellion .....
REDDING, C. Modern wine
REDE, L. T. Guide to t stage.....1369.6
REDE, W. L. The rake progress .....
— Sixteen-string Jack...
— The skeleton witness.. 1378.19;
REDEMPTION. Bryant, J.
REDGAUNTLET. Scott, W. .....v.
REED, H. Lectures on En lish literature.....
— Lectures on the Briti poets. 2 v. .....
REED, J. The register offi v.
REES, J. Foot-prints of letter-carrier .....
REEVES, H. Chimasia ...
REFLECTION, Aids to. Co ridge, S. T..v. 1 of 886
REFORMATION. Froude, A. Influence of the r ormation on the Sc tish character .....
— Milton, J. Reformati in England.....v.
— Stebbing, H. History the.....
REFORMS, Hints towa Greeley, H. .....
REFRACTION, Double. Bre ster, *Sir* D. .....v.
REFUSAL, The. Cibber, v. 4 of 357.13; v.
REGICIDES, Trials of so of the.....
REGISTER office. Reed, v.
REGULAR fix, A! Morton M. .....

Shelf. No.

N and the church.
en, C. (T. C.)..v. 5 of 877.1
us poems. Stowe,
E.) B..... 1328.6
us sentences from
kespeare..... 374.6
s of ancient English
ry. Percy, T..332.3; 1409.5
ABLE characters.
y, R. S..... 894.1
ron, A. G. Prose
verse..... 1399.2
. Coleridge, S. T.
v. 2 of 327.10; v. 7 of 886.2
vous, The. Ayton,
.....1376.16
o, The. Massinger,
.....353.4; v. 2 of 353.8
J. Architecture of
s. Lond..... 839.2
ie. New ed. Lond. 850.7
ie. Bost..... 849.10
miscellanies..... 850.8
stic habits of birds. 839.11
ties of birds..... 839.10
t architecture.
l..... 839.13
ie. New ed. Lond.
..... 850.6
ie. Bost..... 849.13
al history of birds. 820.5
Westwood, J. O.
ral history of in-
s. Lond. 2 v.... 389.18
me. N. Y. 2 v.. 810.9
ay. Jerrold, D.
v. 8 of 906.1; 1367.4
, H. B. and J. Lives
Jay and A. Hamil-
..... 820.33
, J. Life of DeWitt
on..... 820.30
NTATIVE govern-
in Europe, Origin
Guizot, F. (P. G.) 817.7
NTATIVE men. Em-
n, R. W..... 876.5
, Natural history
Swainson, W..... 408.1
), The. Plato..v. 2 of 814.3
, Treatise on the.
to, M. T..... 834.14
DE at Sierra Leone. 899.6
TION. Young, E.
2 of 329.14; v. 2 of 1319.9
TION of monarchy
rance. Lamartine,
I. L. P.) de..... 837.9
from business. Jer-
D.....v. 7 of 906.1
Werdna. *pseud.*

Shelf. No.

REVENGER'S tragedy. Tourneur, C.....v. 2 of 331.2
REVETT, N. Antiquities of Athens. *See* Stuart, J. 835.17
REVIEW, The. Colman, G., *the younger*.....1369.13
1379.19; 1383.1
REVOLT of Islam. Shelley, P. B. .....311.8; v. 1 of 1318.5
REVOLUTIONARY soldier. Jaimson, G. .....1377.15
1378.6; 1379.13
REVOLUTIONS in Europe. Koch, C. W. ..... 830.45
REXFORD, G. C. Dime school melodist ..... 1829.4
REYNOLDS, F. The dramatist.....v. 4 of 357.15
REYNOLDS, *Sir* J. Literary works. 2 v..... 858.4
RHAND, Tally, *pseud.* Guttle and gulpit..... 1379.4
RHESUS. Euripides...v. 2 of 814.9
v. 2 of 830.15
RHETORIC. Aristoteles. Treatise on..... 814.8
— Campbell, G. Philosophy of..... 405.6
— Cicero, M. T. Rhetorical invention.....v. 4 of 824.10
— Coppée, H. Elements of. 396.4
— Hervey, G. W. Rhetoric of conversation..... 405.9
— Theremin, F. Outlines of a systematic ..... 405.7
— Whately, R. Elements of..... 406.21
RHETORICIANS, Lives of the. Suetonius Tranquillus, C. ..... 844.8
RHIND, W. History of British India. *See* Murray, H. 810.51
RHINE. Banfield, T. C. Industry of the..... 840.1
— Family tour up the..... 389.2
— Legaré, H. S. Journal of the ..... 872.3
RHODE ISLAND book. Lynch, A. C. ..... 888.9
RHODES, T. B. Bombastes furioso .....1376.5; 1378.4
RHYMES of contrast on wisdom and folly. Rush, J. 1345.7
RHYMES of travel. Taylor, (J.) Bayard ..... 345.19
RICE, C. The three guardsmen..... 1368.9
RICE, G. E. Blondel.....1357.10
— Nugamenta..... 374.17
— Old play in a new garb; (Hamlet)..... 356.22

Shelf.

RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER. Ancient state of Britain. *See* Giles, J. A. .....
RICHARD OF DEVIZES. Crusade of Richard Cœur de Lion .....
RICHARD II Shakespeare, W. v. 3 of 313.1; 322 3; v. 3 of
v. 5 of 325.1; v. 5 of
v. 4 of 326.2; v. 4 of
v. 2 of 359.18; v. 2 of
v. 4 of 1326.1; v. 6 of 1
RICHARD III. Shakespeare, W. .....v. 5 of 313.1;
v. 4 of 322.4; v. 7 of
v. 7 of 326.1; v. 5 of
v. 5 of 337.2; v. 3 of 3
v. 4 of 394.7; v. 6 of 1
1359.5; v. 8 of 1
— — Same. Adapted by C. Cibber....v. 3 of 357.13; 1
RICHARD III, Ghost of. Brooke, C. ..... 3
RICHARD III, True tragedy of. *See* Field, N. ..... 3
RICHARDS, W. C. Electron.
RICHARDSON, C. Study of language: an exposition of Horne Tooke..... 4
RICHARDSON, G. F. Introduction to geology, and its associate sciences ..... 8
RICHARDSON, J. Recollections of the last half-century. 2 v. .....18
RICHARDSON, S., Review of the Correspondence of. *See* Jeffrey, F., *lord*....
RICHE, B. Eight novels published in 1581..... 3
RICHELIEU. Bulwer-Lytton, E. (G. E. L.) .....1
1379.11; 1
RICHMOND, J. C. Metacomet .....13
RICHTER, J. P. (F.) Extracts from [his] works ..... 9
— Flower, fruit and thorn pieces. Bost. 1845. 2 v.
— — Same. Bost. 1863 ....19
— Hesperus or forty-five dog-post-days. 2 v. ...
— Sketches of and from....
RIDER, G. T. Lyra Americana ..... 3
RIDLEY, J. (*Sir Charles Morell.*) Tales of the genii..... 8
RIENZI. Mitford, M. R. ...15
1
RIFLE, axe, and saddle-bags, a

Shelf. No.

NI, Story of. Hunt, (J. H.) Leigh..... 332.13
, The, and the book. Browning, R. .....1348.18
Van Bigham. Hopper, E. .....1329.24
Van Winkle. Burke, C. 1368.13; 1381.3; 1388.19
Van Winkle and his wonderful nap. Stedman, E. C. ..... 1320.1
, M. Memoirs, during thirteen years' residence at the court of Peking ..... 899.7
KY, G., and Taylor, (J.) Bayard. Hand-book of literature and the fine rts ..... 406.22
HIE, A. C., *formerly Mrs. Mowatt.* (*Isabel.*) Plays. 356.16

*Contents.*—Armand; Fashion.

rmand .....1369.5; 1388.7, 45
ashion ..... 1369.5
elayo: or, the cavern of Covadonga ..... 338.5
L fools. Cibber, C. v. 2 of 357.13
L queens. Lee, N. v. 1 of 331.1 v. 6 of 354.1
L rhymes, in honour of Burns. Ben Trovato.. 1337.4
LS, The. Plato...v. 4 of 814.3
LS, The. Sheridan, R. B...v. 4 of 331.1; v. 19 of 354.1 828.10; 847.2; 1357.2; 1367.4
R Duddon, Sonnets on the. Wordsworth, W. 311.1; v. 3 of 359.12 v. 3 of 1319.7; 1409.6
RSIDE magazine for young people. Vol. 1–3. v. ..... 1813.1
to ruin. Holcroft, T. v. 24 of 354.1
v. 2 of 357.15; 1367.7; 1388.3
s, Art of constructing nd repairing common. aw, H. ..... 819.33
ING girl. Middleton, .....v. 2 of 331.2
Roy. Scott, *Sir* W. v. 2 of 902.1
Roy Macgregor. Pocock, I. ..... 1368.2
ER, The, of the Rhine. lmar, G. ..... 1369.1 1381.3; 1388.17
ER's wife. Pocock, I..1369.10 1379.21; 1380.1; 1381.3

Shelf. No.

ROBERTSON, F. W. Lectures and addresses on literary and social topics... 894.12
ROBERTSON, J. C. Percy anecdotes. *See* Byerley, T. .....892.4; 909.7
ROBERTSON, William. The clockmaker's hat. *See* Girardin, É. de ..... 1376.9 1378.11; 1388.8
— Ernestine, from the French ..... 1368.5
ROBERTSON, William, *D. D.* Discovery and conquest of America ..... 830.5
— History of the reign of Charles v, with a view of the progress of society in Europe..... 830.6
ROBESPIERRE, Fall of. Coleridge, S. T. .....v. 2 of 327.10
ROBIN Hood: ballads and songs relating to; with anecdotes of his life. From Ritson and others..... 1329.3
ROBINS, E. Tales from American history. 3 v. 1859.7
ROBINSON, J. H. Nick Whiffles.....1380.2; 1382.2
ROBINSON, T. A. L. (v. J.) (*Talvi.*) Languages and literature of the Slavic nations..... 404.7
ROBINSON Crusoe. De Foe, D. ..... 835.4
ROBSON, W. J. Love and loyalty.1369.10; 1379.1; 1380.1
ROCCA, A. J. M. de. War of the French in Spain. v. 2 of 830.42
ROCKY mountains, Adventures in the. Ruxton, G. F..... 899.8
RODERICK, the last of the Goths. Southey, R. ..311.3, 13 v. 9 of 1318.7
RODWELL, G. H. Teddy the tiler..... 1377.5 1378.9, 10; 1379.13; 1388.18
RODWELL, T. G. More blunders than one.....1377.4 1378.11; 1379.14; 1388.44
— The young widow .....1376.10 1379.16
ROGER DE HOVEDEN. Annals. 2 v. ..... 856.2
ROGER OF WENDOVER. Flowers of history, formerly ascribed to Matthew Paris. 2 v. ..... 846.9

ROGET, P. M. Electricity electro-magnetism, galvanism, and magnetism v. 2
— Thesaurus of English words.....
ROKEBY. Scott, *Sir* W. ..4 336.1; v. 4 of 336.2; v. 2 336.14; v. 5 of 359.13 v. 1 of 902.1; v. 4 v. 2 of 1329.2
ROLAND, A, for an Oliver Morton, T. ..... 1378.21;
ROMAN actor. Massinger P. ..... v. 2 of 353.8; v. 2
ROMAN father. Whitehead W. ..v. 2 of 331.1; v. 14
ROMAN law and legal education. Maine, H. J. S..
ROMAN lawyer in Jerusalem Story, W. W.....
ROMAN literature. Matthiae A. (H.) Manual of ...
— Peter, W. Specimens of the poets and poetry of Rome .....
ROMAN martyrs. Leavitt J. M. .....
ROMANCE, Essay on. Scott *Sir* W. .....v. 8
ROMANCE after marriage Goodrich, F. B. 1369 2
ROMANCE and reality Brougham, J. ..... 1368.6
ROMANCE of a poor young man. Feuillet, O. 1369.
ROMANCE of the fashionable world. Batchelder, E.
ROMANCE under difficulties Burnand, F. C. .....
ROMANCES, Dramatic Browning, R. .....v. 1
ROMANTIC composition in France and England Ellis, G. .....
ROMAUNT of Margret Browning, E. B. .v. 1 v. 1
ROMAUNT of the pag Browning, E. B. .v. 2 v. 2
ROMAUNT of the rose. Chaucer, G. v. 4 of 319.5; v.
ROME. Ammianus Marcellinus. Roman history
— Eaton, C. A. Rome, the 19th century.....
— Ferguson, A. Progress

Shelf. No.

*ntinued.*
ndi, J. C. L. S. de.
of the Roman em-
..... 378.5
s, C. C. Annals
listory of...834.17; 872.11
d Juliet. Shake-
e, W. .v. 7 of 313.1; 322.3
. 5 of 322.4; v. 10 of 325.1
. 9 of 326.1; v. 6 of 326.2
. 8 of 337.2; v. 4 of 359.18
. 5 of 394.7; v. 7 of 1326.1
1367.6; v. 10 of 1394.1
F. The Grant song-
.....1349.11
d ramifications of
English language.
p, A. J..... 406.17
lore. Lover, S....1368.13
1388.19
o. Addison, J. v. 1 of 847.1
o Gray. Lamb, C.
v. 2 of 874.2
v. 4 of 874.6; 1818.1
The. Churchill, C.
v. 1 of 312.1; v. 1 of 319.6
322.5; v. 1 of 1316.7
. Lives of eminent
h lawyers..... 388.4
'. Life and writings
guel de Cervantes
dra..... 399.1
V. Life and pontif-
of Leo x. 2 v.... 818.2
Lorenzo de' Med-
..... 818.6
V. C. Poems and
. 2 v..... 394.9
ragon. Knowles,
.....v. 2 of 1357.1
trick vale. Lynch,
..1368.8; 1381.3; 1388.39
Brooke, F. (M.)
. 5 of 331.1; v. 3 of 354.2
adows. English,
.....1369.8; 1378.8, 19
W. Index of
2 v..... 857.9
C. G. Poems.... 1346.1
D. G. The early
poets..... 855.10
..... .....1326.17
R. W. History
onomy ....v. 3 of 365.14
iamond. Buck-
J. B. ....1376.6; 1388.13
le. Hazlitt, W. . 886.10
le, Legends of the.
s, S..... 1405.3
UT papers. Thack-
V. M.....882.16; 1816.18

Shelf. No.

ROWE, N., *continued.*
— Jane Shore. Lond..v. 1 of 331.1
v. 10 of 354.1; v. 12 of 1389.1
— — Same. N. Y....1368.3; 1388.5
— Lady Jane Gray ...v. 1 of 331.1
v. 10 of 354.1; v. 16 of 1389.1
— Tamerlane.....v. 1 of 331.1
v. 10 of 354.1; v. 13 of 1389.1
ROWLEY, Thomas, *pseud.*
*See* Chatterton, T.
ROWLEY, W. A match at
midnight.....v. 2 of 331.2
ROWLEY controversy. Chat-
terton, T. ..... 346.6
ROWTON, F. The debater.1397.10
— Female poets of Great
Britain ..... 321.2
ROYAL convert. Rowe, N.
v. 2 of 356.21
RUDENS. Plautus, T. M.
v. 2 of 824.12
RUDIMENTARY chronology.
2 v..... 829.39
RUINS of ancient cities.
Bucke, C.....379.6; 820.38
RULE a wife and have a wife.
Beaumont, F. .....v. 3 of 331.1
v. 9 of 351.2; v. 6 of 354.1
v. 1 of 1389.1
RUNNAMEDE. Logan, J..... 349.24
RURAL felicity. Buckstone,
J. B..1369.11; 1378.20; 1388.22
RURAL letters. Willis, N. P. 904.15
RURAL life of England.
Howitt, W..... 896.4
RURAL poetry of the English
language. Jenks, J. W. 314.3
RURAL sports. Gay, J..v. 1 of 312.1
RURAL tales. Bloomfield, R. 1329.8
RURAL wreath. Greenwood,
L..... 1337.2
RUSH, J. Philosophy of the
human voice..... 405.1
— Rhymes of contrast on
wisdom and folly..... 1345.7
RUSH, R. Occasional pro-
ductions..... 882.4
RUSKIN, J. The crown of
wild olive..... 1816.1
— The mystery of life and
its arts..... 1827.4
— Selections from [his]
writings.....1816.13
RUSSELL, A. P. Half tints.1817.11
RUSSELL, J. Tour in Ger-
many, and some prov-
inces of the Austrian
empire, 1820–22. 2 v... 830.43
RUSSELL, M. Ancient and
modern Egypt..... 810.29
— History and present con-

Shel

RUSSIA. Bell, R. History of.
— Brooks, (C.) S. The Rus-
sians of the south..409.2; 1
— Cochrane, J. D. Pedes-
trian journey through.. 8
— Custine, A., *marquis* de.
Russia in 1839....409.4; 1
— Kelly, W. K. History of.
— MacCulloch, J. R. Rus-
sia and Turkey..409.28; 1
— Macgillivray, W. Hum-
boldt's journey in Asi-
atic..... 8
— Rabbe, A. History of... 8
— Ségur, P. P. de. Expedi-
tion to.....399.3; 8
RUSSIAN ball. Read, T. B. 1
RUSSIAN poets, Specimens of
the. Bowring, *Sir* J... 3
RUTH Oakley. Williams, T.
1369,14; 1
RUXTON, G. F. Adventures
in Mexico and the Rocky
mountains ..... 8
RYDER, G. M. Gillian; and
other poems..... 3

SABBATH at home. Vol. 1.. 1
SACHEM'S-WOOD. Hillhouse,
J. A.....v. 2 of 3
SACKVILLE, *Lord* George,
proved to be Junius.
*See* Allen, W..... 8
SACKVILLE, T. Ferrex and
Porrex .....v. 1 of
SACRED poets of England
and America. Griswold,
R. W..... 3
SÆWULF. Narrative. *See*
Wright, T..... 8
SAILOR of France. John-
stone, J. B.....1368.11; 1
SAILOR'S sea-book. Green-
wood, J..... 8
ST. AGNES, Eve of. Keats, J.
v. 3 of
332.6; 334.24; 347.6; 1
ST. ALBAN'S abbey. Rad-
cliffe, A.....v. 2 of
ST. CLEMENT'S eve. Taylor,
H..... 3
ST. CUPID. Jerrold, D.
v. 7 of 906.1; 1
ST. GEORGES, J. H. V., *cheva-
lier* de. Le diable
amoureux..... 1
ST. GILES and St. James.
Jerrold, D. .....v. 1 of
ST. JAMES'S magazine. Vol.
1–21; new series, v.
1–3. 24 v.....

Shelf. No.

PATRICK'S eve. Power, T. .....1376.2; 1378.19
PETERSBURG, Pictures from. Jerrmann, E..... 409.13
1655.6
T PIERRE, (J. H.) B. de. The Indian cottage; Paul and Virginia..... 833.33
T-PRIEST, A. G., *comte* de. Fall of the Jesuits in the 18th century..... 889.3
RONAN'S well. Scott, Sir W. .....v. 5 of 902.1
VALENTINE'S day. Scott, Sir W. .....v. 6 of 902.1
TINE, (J.) X. Boniface, called. Woman's whims. 878.13
, G. A. Breakfast in bed ..... 882.17
utch pictures..... 883.19
aslight and daylight... 903.9
ady Chesterfield's letters to her daughter.... 905.16
ooking at life..... 893.5
ankee drolleries..... 1886.7
*Contents.*—Artemus Ward: his book, by C. F. Browne; Major Jack Downing, by S. Smith; The Nasby papers, by D. R. Locke; The Orpheus C. Kerr papers, by R. H. Newell; The Biglow papers, by J. R. Lowell.
D for the social. Saunders, F. ..... 898.5
D for the solitary. Saunders, F. ..... 898.4
, *Sir* R. Brigade in Afghanistan. *See* Gleig, G. R. ..... 899.11
USTIUS CRISPUS, C. Works.] Translated by W. Rose ..... 830.10
lorus, and Velleius Paterculus. [Works.] Translated by J. S. Watson ..... 834.4
TAGUNDI. Irving, W. v. 1 of 377.1; 901.1
TON, J. Old and young. 1369.14; 1378.14; 1379.24
ME. Heywood, J. C.. 1358.3
OR, lord of the bright city. Milman, H. H. v. 3 of 312.1; v. 2 of 327.9; 332.6
ON Agonistes. Milton, J. v. 1 of 312.1; v. 2 of 312.3
312.6; v. 2 of 321.1; v. 3 of 329.6
359.3, 4; v. 2 of 843.9
v. 3 of 1317.11
ORN, K. A. Home pictures of English poets ..1356.2

Shelf. No.

SARDANAPALUS. Byron, G. (G. N.), *lord* .....v. 4 of 323.2
v. 7 of 347.1; 1368.4
v. 5 of 1409.2
SARGENT, E. [Gem series.]
The emerald .....1818.20
— The sapphire.....1818.21
— Original dialogues..... 395.26
— The standard speaker.... 393.1
— The woman who dared ..1348.22
— Modern standard drama. *See* Dramas, Collection of.
SARTOR resartus. Carlyle, T. 885.14
SATAN in Paris, from Clairville. *See* Selby, C. ... 1369.8
1379.26; 1388.9, 44
SAUL. Heavysege, C. .....1357.13
SAUNDERS, C. H. The pirate's legacy.....1369.19
1379.18; 1382.2
— Rosina Meadows. *See* English, W. B. 1369.8; 1378.8, 19
SAUNDERS, F. Mosaics..... 905.9
— Salad for the social ..... 898.5
— Salad for the solitary.... 898.4
SAUNDERS, J. Cabinet pictures of English life. Chaucer ..... 850.9
SAUZAY, A. Wonders of glass-making in all ages. 196.29
SAVAGE, J. The life-wake of the fine Arkansas gentleman who died before his time ..... 822.1
SAVILLE, J. F. The miller's maid .....1376.12; 1381.2
SAXE, J. G. Poems..... 372.11
— The Fly-ing Dutchman..... 373.13
— The masquerade and other poems.....1347.34
— The money-king and other poems ..... 374.3
SAYLES, F. O. Follies of the day .....1329.28
SCANDALOUS chronicle, The. Troyes, J. de..... 857.4
SCANDERBEG, Life of. *See* Lillo, G.....v. 1 of 356.18
SCANDINAVIA, ancient and modern. Crichton, A. 820.39
SCANDINAVIAN North, Visit to the. Pfeiffer, I. .... 879.3
SCANDINAVIAN popular tales and traditions. Thorpe, B. ..... 846.12
SCANDINAVIANS, Manners, customs, etc., of the ancient. Mallet, P. H. ... 846.2
SCANLAN, M. Love and land ..... 1357.2

SCHILLER, (J. C.) F. von. Æsthetic letters, essays and philosophical letters.....
— Correspondence with Körner. Comprising anecdotes of Goethe, the Schlegels, Wieland and others. 3 v. .....
— Dramas and romances..
*Contents.*—The robbers; Fiesco; Love and intrigue; Demetrius; The ghost-seer; The sport of destiny.
— Early dramas and romances.....
*Contents.*—The robbers; Fiesco; Love and intrigue; Demetrius; The ghost-seer; The sport of destiny.
— Historical dramas.....
*Contents.*—Don Carlos; Mary Stuart; The maid of Orleans; The bride of Messina.
— Historical works. 2 v. .
*Contents.*—Vol. I. Life; Thirty years' war. II. Thirty years' war; Trial of Count Egmont and Horn; The siege of Antwerp.
— Minor poems .....
— Poems and ballads ....
— Revolt of the Netherlands, [etc.].....
*Contents.*—Revolt of the Netherlands, continued. [Thirty years' war, *below*] Trial of Counts Egmont and Horn; Siege of Antwerp; Wallenstein's camp; Piccolomini; Death of Wallenstein; Wilhelm Tell.
— The robbers .....
— Song of the bell. With poems and ballads from Goethe, Schiller, and others.....
— Thirty years' war; Revolt of the Netherlands; the confederacy of the Gueux .....
*Note.*—For continuation see Revolt of the Netherlands, *above*.
— Mary Stuart. *See* Keble, F. A. .....
— Death of Wallenstein. Piccolomini. *See* Coleridge, S. T.....v. 3
v. 7 of 886.2; v. 3
— Metrical translations from .....

Shelf. No.

L, (C. W.) F. von, *inued.*
ires on modern his- ..... 848.1
ires on the history erature, ancient and ern..... 857.13
sophy of history ... 818.3
sophy of life, and sophy of language. 828.8
LS, Anecdotes of *See* Schiller, (J. F. von..... 876.16
, *or* Smith, H. I.
cation ..... 820.53
, The. Buckstone, ...1369.13; 1378.14; 1383.1
for authors. Tobin, .....v. 7 of 354.2
for fathers. Bickff, I. .....v. 17 of 354.1
v. 10 of 1389.1
for lovers. White, W. .....v. 8 of 1389.1
for scandal. Sheri- R. B..... 828.10
847.2; 1357.2; 1367.1
for wives. Kelly, .....v. 8 of 1389.1
GIRL'S garland.
land, C. M. ..... 373.23
nelodist. Rexford, ..... 1829.4
MISTRESS, The.
stone, W..... v. 1 of 312.1
of reform. Morton, .....v. 25 of 354.1
l of 357.15; 1369.1; 1388.17
AY dialogues.
, A. ..... 1397.4
ELLOWS, The. Jer- D. .....v. 8 of 906.1
J. F.* The earth, s, and man. And ches from the min- kingdom, by F. Kobell ..... 826.5
C. Speeches ..... 813.20
Brougham, H., *lord.*
ourses on....820.72; 840.6
ects, advantages, pleasures of..v. 1 of 365.14
té, T. S. Character
bjects of ..... 878.9
R. Poetry of..... 826.11
IC American. Vol. 2; new series, v. 1, -21. 12 v.....10.1
IC dialogues. Joyce, .....826.17, 18
IC men of France.

Shelf. No.

SCOTLAND, *continued.*
— Scott, *Sir* W. History of. 368.4
v. 7 of 902.1
— Wordsworth, W. Memorials of a tour in, 1803, 14...311.1; v. 3 of 359.12
v. 3 of 1319.7; 1409.6
SCOTT, *Sir* W. Complete works. 10 v..... 902.1

*Contents.* — Vol. I. Minstrelsy of the Scottish border; Sir Tristrem; Lay of the last minstrel; Ballads translated or imitated from the German; Marmion; Lady of the lake; Miscellaneous poems; Rokeby; Vision of Don Roderick; Lord of the isles; Occasional poems; Bridal of Triermain; Harold the dauntless; Field of Waterloo; Songs and miscellanies. II. Waverley; Guy Mannering; Antiquary; Rob Roy; Black dwarf; Old Mortality. III. Heart of Mid-Lothian; Bride of Lammermoor; Legend of Montrose; Ivanhoe; Monastery; Abbot. IV. Kenilworth; Pirate; Fortunes of Nigel; Peveril of the Peak; Quentin Durward. V. St. Ronan's well; Redgauntlet; Betrothed; Talisman; Woodstock. VI. Chronicles of the Canongate: The highland widow; The two drovers; My aunt Margaret's mirror; Tapestried chamber; The laird's Jock; Fair maid of Perth; Anne of Geierstein; Count Robert of Paris; Castle Dangerous; Surgeon's daughter. VII. Tales of a grandfather; History of Scotland. VIII. Life of J. Dryden; Life of J. Swift; Biographical notices of the novelists; Dramatical works: Halidon hill; MacDuff's cross; Doom of Devorgoil; Auchindrane, or the Ayrshire tragedy; House of Aspen; Goetz of Berlichingen, from the German of Goethe; Paul's letters to his kinsfolk; Eyrbiggia-Saga; Essay on chivalry, romance, and the drama; Religious discourses; Demonology and witchcraft. IX. Life of Napoleon. X. Life, by J. G. Lockhart.

— Poetical works. N. Y. 1818, 19. 6 v. ..... 359.13

*Contents.* — Vol. I. Lay of the last minstrel. II. Vision of Don Roderick; Ballads and lyrical pieces; Thomas the rhymer. III. Marmion. IV. Lady of the lake; The field of Waterloo. V. Rokeby. VI. The lord of the isles.

— - Same. Phil. 1846.... 336.1

*Contents.* — Memoir, by J.

Sh

SCOTT, *Sir* W., *continued.*

by; Lord of the isles; Vision of Don Roderick; Harold the dauntless; The field of Waterloo; Songs and miscellanies; Ballads translated from the German; Songs; Miscellaneous poems; Poetry from the border minstrelsy.

— - Same. N. Y. 1852.... 3

*Contents.* — Memoir; Lay of the last minstrel; Marmion; Lady of the lake; Vision of Don Roderick; Rokeby; Ballads; Lyrics; Songs.

— - Same. N. Y. 1853. 6 v. .....

*Contents.* — Vol. I. Lay of the last minstrel; Ballads translated from the German; Songs; The poacher; Miscellaneous poems; Poetry published in the Border minstrelsy. II. Marmion; Occasional pieces. III. Lady of the lake; Vision of Don Roderick. IV. Rokeby; The bridal of Triermain. V. The lord of the isles; The field of Waterloo; Songs and miscellanies. VI. Harold the dauntless; Dramatic pieces; Halidon hill; MacDuff's cross; Doom of Devorgoil; Auchindrane, or the Ayrshire tragedy.

— - Same. N. Y. n. d. ..

*Contents.* — Lay of the last minstrel; Marmion; Lady of the lake; Vision of Don Roderick; Rokeby; The bridal of Triermain; Lord of the isles; The field of Waterloo; Harold the dauntless; Contributions to the Border minstrelsy; Ballads translated or imitated from the German, etc.; Lyrical and miscellaneous pieces; Dramatic pieces: Halidon hill; MacDuff's cross; Doom of Devorgoil; Auchindrane, or the Ayrshire tragedy; The house of Aspen.

— - Same. Bost. 1857. 9 v.

*Contents.* — Vol. I. Memoir; Lay of the last minstrel. II. Marmion. III. Lady of the lake. IV. Rokeby; Vision of Don Roderick. V. The lord of the isles. VI. Imitations of the ancient ballads; Ballads from the German; Songs. VII. Miscellaneous poems; Poems printed in Lockhart's biography; Lyrical pieces, mottoes, etc., from the Waverley novels. VIII. Bridal of Triermain; Harold the dauntless; The field of Waterloo; Halidon hill; MacDuff's cross. IX. Doom of Devorgoil; Au-

Shelf. No.

T, *Sir* W., *continued.*
alidon hill ..... 358.21
istory of Scotland. 2 v. 368.4
ady of the lake. N. Y. 1857..... 336.3
Same. n. p. n. d. .... 1344.2
Same. Phil. .....v. 2 of 312.1
ay of the last minstrel. Lond. ..... 359.14
Same. Phil. .....v. 2 of 312.1
etters on demonology nd witchcraft. Lond. 399.2
Same. N. Y. ..... 810.13
ord of the isles ..... 359.17
armion. N. Y. 1857... 336.9
Same. N. Y. 1865. ...1315.10
Same. Phil. .....v. 2 of 312.1
okeby..... 359.16
ncient British drama. v. ..... 331.2

*Contents.*—Vol. I. The four P's, by J. Heywood; Ferrex nd Porrex, by T. Sackville; eturne from Pernassus; Da- ion and Pithias, by R. Ed- ards; Gammer Gurton's nee- le, by J. Still; Alexander and ampaspe, by J. Lyly; Ed- ard II, by C. Marlowe; The eir, by T. May; The bird in cage, by J. Shirley; The Jew f Malta, by C. Marlowe; The its, by Sir W. Davenant; Sir ohn Oldcastle, [part 1]; Life nd death of Thomas Lord romwell; London prodigal; he puritan; Yorkshire trag- ly; George a-Greene; Je- nimo; The Spanish tragedy, y T. Kyd; The honest whore, y T. Dekker. II. Malcon- nt, by J. Marston; All fools, y G. Chapman; Eastward oe, by B. Jonson and others; he revenger's tragedy, by C. ourneur; The dumb knight, y L. Machin; Miseries of in- rced marriage, by G. Wil- ns; Lingua, by A. Brewer; erry devil of Edmonton; mad world, my masters, by . Middleton; Ram alley, by T. arry; Roaring girl, by T. iddleton; City match, by J. ayne; Muse's looking-glass, T. Randolph; A woman lled with kindness, by T. eywood; A match at mid- ght, by W. Rowley; The mester, by J. Shirley; Mi- ocosmus, by T. Nabbes; reene's Tu Quoque, by J. ook; Albumazar, by — Tom- s. III. The white devil, by Webster; The hog hath lost s pearl, by R. Tailor; Four entises of London, by T. eywood; The antiquary, by Marmion; The ordinary, by . Cartwright; Jovial crew, R. Brome; Old couple, T. May; Andromana, by

Shelf. No.

SCOTT, *Sir* W., *continued.*
tragedy, Thierry and Theodoret, Philaster, Bonduca, The false one, by F. Beaumont and J. Fletcher; The bondman, by P. Massinger; The fatal dowry, by P. Massinger and N. Field; The broken heart, by J. Forde; The rival queens, Theodosius, by N. Lee; All for love, Don Sebastian, by J. Dryden; The orphan, Venice preserved, by T. Otway; Isabella, Oroonoko, by T. Southern; The mourning bride, by W. Congreve; Tamerlane, The fair penitent, Jane Shore, Lady Jane Gray, by N. Rowe; Cato, by J. Addison; Distrest mother, by A. Philips; Siege of Damascus, by J. Hughes. II. *Tragedies:* The revenge, The brothers, by E. Young; Mariamne, by E. Fenton; George Barnwell, Fatal curiosity, Arden of Feversham, by G. Lillo; Zara, by A. Hill; King Charles I, by W. Havard; Gustavus Vasa, by H. Brooke; Mahomet, by J. Miller; Tancred and Sigismunda, by J. Thomson; Irene, by S. Johnson; Roman father, by W. Whitehead; Elfrida, Caractacus, by W. Mason; Gamester, by E. Moore; Boadicea, by R. Glover; Earl of Essex, by H. Jones; Barbarossa, by J. Brown; Douglas, by J. Home; Cleone, by R. Dodsley; Orphan of China, Zenobia, Grecian daughter, by A. Murphy; Earl of Warwick, by J. F. de La Harpe, translated by T. Francklin; Matilda, translated from the French, by T. Francklin; Countess of Salisbury, by H. Hartson; Mysterious mother, by H. Walpole; Comus, by J. Milton; Fair apostate, by W. Macdonald. III. *Comedies:* Every man in his humour, Volpone, The alchemist, by B. Jonson; Rule a wife and have a wife, The chances, by F. Beaumont and J. Fletcher; New way to pay old debts, by P. Massinger; The committee, by Sir R. Howard; The rehearsal, by G. Villiers, duke of Buckingham; Key to The rehearsal, Country girl, Plain dealer, by W. Wycherley; Old bachelor, Double dealer, Love for love, Way of the world, by W. Congreve; Provoked wife, Confederacy, Mistake, by J. Vanbrugh; Provoked husband, by J. Vanbrugh and C. Cibber; Spanish friar, by J. Dryden; Love makes a man, She would and she would not, Careless husband, by C. Cibber. IV. *Comedies:* The hypocrite, by C. Cibber; Constant couple, Sir Harry Wildair, The inconstant, The recruiting officer, Beaux stratagem, by G. Farquhar; The

SCOTT, *Sir* W., *continued.*
of Scapin, by T. Otway; Be gars' opera, by J. Gay; Co trivances, Crononhotonthol gus, by H. Carey; To Thumb, Mock doctor, Intrig ing chambermaid, by H. Fie ing; Devil to pay, by C. C fey; King and miller of Mar field, Sir John Cockle at cou by R. Dodsley; Lying val Miss in her teens, Lethe, Ma coquette, Guardian, Neck Nothing, Peep behind the cu tain, Irish widow, Bon to High life below stairs, by Garrick; Taste, Englishm in Paris, Knights, Englishm returned from Paris, The a thor, The minor, The liar, T orators, Mayor of Garratt, T patron, The commissary, T devil upon two sticks, T lame lover, The maid of Bat by S. Foote; The apprenti The upholsterer, The old ma The citizen, Three weeks af marriage, by A. Murph Love à-la-mode, by C. Macki Love in a village, Maid of t mill, The padlock, by I. Bi erstaff; Dr. Last in his chari by I. Bickerstaff and S. Foo The sultan, by I. Bickersta The deuce is in him, by Colman; Midas, Maid of t oaks, by J. Burgoyne; T misers, by K. O'Hara; T critic, by R. B. Sherid Rosina, by F. (M.) Brooke.

— Eyrbyggja Saga, A stract of the. *See* Mall P. H. .....
— Heart of Mid-Lothia Dramatized. *See* Di din, T. .....
— Ivanhoe. Dramatize *See* Dibdin, T..1369.1
— Lady of the lake. D matized. *See* Dibdin,
SCOTTISH ballads. Finlay,
SCOTTISH border, Minstr sy of the. Scott, *Sir* v.
SCOTTISH character, Ill trations of. Rogers,
SCOTTISH life, Pictures Wyse, G. .....
SCOTTISH life and charact Ramsay, E. B. ...395.
SCOTTISH minstrel, The m ern. Rogers, C. .....
SCOTTISH songs, Illustrat book of. .....
SCOTTISH worthies, Lives Tytler, P. F. .....
SCRIBE, A. L. Asmode adapted by T. Archer

Shelf. No.

URE, *continued.*
es, J. S. History of. 830.48
ARD, The, and the
n. Warter, J. W. 882.6
ce, The.....1368.6; 1388.8
AGE, The. Beau-
t, F.....v. 8 of 351.2
B., Edwards, B. B.,
Felton, C. C. Clas-
l studies..... 403.16
and fireside. Long-
w, H. W.....v. 2 of 333.1
.8; v. 1 of 1409.15; 1825.11
, The. Thomson, J.
v. 1 of 312.1; v. 2 of 329.13
349.26; 358.13
v. 2 of 1319.3; 1409.11
, Pictorial calendar
he. Howitt, M..... 825.10
D, *Sir* E. Narrative
is shipwreck, and
overy of certain
nds in the Caribbean
.....409.24; 1655.21
AN of Portugal.
hans, F. (D.)..v. 1 of 347.2
rapita, La. Tas-
, A..... 345.4
Alcibiades. Plato.
v. 4 of 814.3
love. Simpson, J.
369.12; 1379.2; 1388.28, 31
The.1376.3; 1379.8; 1388.21
service. Planché, J.
....1376.4; 1378.3; 1388.26
societies of the mid-
ages..... 849.5
. New ed..... 850.13
RY, The. Knowles,
.....v. 2 of 1357.1
K, A. Classical,
physical, moral, and
ral studies. *See*
gham, H., *lord*.... 820.72
Warren. Morton,
..1377.16; 1379.13; 1388.33
l heard. Heady, M.1338.13
he. Hunt, (J. H.)
h..... 1817.7
P. P. de. Expedi-
to Russia, in 1812.
l. 2 v..... 399.3
he. N. Y. 2 v.... 820.43
E, Natural history
White, G..... 815.8
820.48; 830.52
. Anthony and Cle-
ra..... 1377.8
1379.17; 1383.1; 1388.38
at the Swan ..... 1376.1
and gentleman in

Shelf. No.

SELBY, C., *continued.*
— The unfinished gentle-
man.....1376.13; 1388.20
— The valet de sham.....1377.14
1378.21; 1382.2; 1388.24, 29
— The widow's victim..... 1376.3
SELDEN, J. Table-talk..... 877.17
SELECT songster. Carpenter,
J. E..... 1349.7
SELECTIONS from female
poets..... 369.15
SELF. Bateman, *Mrs.* S. F.
1368.12; 1378.7; 1388.10
SELF-EDUCATION, Letters on.
De Quincey, T..... 386.8
SELWYN, G. A., Life and
times of. *See* Hayward,
A.....1655.17
SENECA and the Stoical phil-
osophy. *See* Lowndes, W. 395.14
SEÑOR Valiente. Miles, G.
H.....1369.19; 1379.7
SENSE. Pomeroy, M. M. .. 1888.2
SENSES, The lost. Kitto, J. 840.24
SENT to the tower. Morton,
J. M.....1377.9; 1379.27
SENTIMENTAL journey, The.
Sterne, L. .....833.13; 908.10
SERAPHIM, The. Browning,
E. B.....v. 1 of 335.10
v. 1 of 335.11; v. 1 of 1326.3
SERBSKI pesme. Bulwer-
Lytton, (E.) R..... 1329.1
v. 2 of 1339.13
SERGEANT'S wife...1378.10; 1379.26
SERIOUS family. Barnett,
M.....1368.1; 1378.7
SERMONS by eminent living
divines of the church of
England..... 866.11
SERMONS, Short patent.
Paige, E. F.....1828.15
SERVANTS by legacy. Pil-
grim, J.....1377.14
1378.21; 1388.22
SERVIA, National songs of.
Bulwer-Lytton, (E.) R.
1329.1; v. 2 of 1339.13
SERVIA and the Servian rev-
olution. Ranke, (F.) L.
von..... 827.1
SEVEN against Thebes.
Æschylus.....359.6; 814.6
SEVEN clerks. Wilks, T. E.
1368.6; 1381 3; 1388.8
SEVEN temptations. How-
itt, M..... 332.6
SEWELL, E. M., and Yonge,
C. M. Historical selec-
tions.....1817.20
SEWELL, J. Steam and loco-

Sh

SHAIRP, J. C. Studies in
poetry and philosophy..1
SHAKER lovers. Johnson,
S. D.....1
1378.5; 1379.18; 1
SHAKESPEARE, W. Works.
Edinb. 1795. 8 v.....

*Contents.*—Vol. I. Tempest; Midsummer night's dream; Two gentlemen of Verona; Merry wives of Windsor; Measure for measure. II. [Missing.] III. All's well that ends well; Twelfth night; Comedy of errors; Winter's tale; King John. IV. King Richard II; King Henry IV; King Henry V; King Henry VI, part 1. V. King Henry VI, parts 2, 3; King Richard III; King Henry VIII. VI. King Lear; Timon of Athens; Titus Andronicus; Coriolanus. VII. Julius Cæsar; Antony and Cleopatra; Cymbeline; Troilus and Cressida. VIII. Romeo and Juliet; Hamlet; Othello; Glossary and index.

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*Contents.*—Vol. I. Tempest; Two gentlemen of Verona; Merry wives of Windsor; Twelfth night. II. Measure for measure; Much ado about nothing; Midsummer night's dream; Love's labour's lost. III. Merchant of Venice; As you like it; All's well that ends well; Taming of the shrew. IV. Winter's tale; Comedy of errors; Macbeth; King John. V. King Richard II; First and second parts of King Henry IV; King Henry V. VI. First to third parts of King Henry VI. VII. Richard III; Henry VIII; Troilus and Cressida. VIII. Timon of Athens; Coriolanus; Julius Cæsar; Antony and Cleopatra. IX. Cymbeline; Titus Andronicus; Pericles; King Lear. X. Romeo and Juliet; Hamlet; Othello. XI. Life; History of the drama; General criticism; Poems and sonnets.

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*Contents.*—Vol. I. History of the English drama and stage; Life of Shakespeare; Tempest; Two gentlemen of Verona; Merry wives of Windsor. II. Measure for measure; Comedy of errors; Much ado about nothing; Love's labour's lost; Midsummer night's dream; Merchant

Shelf. No.

ESPEARE, W., *continued.*
orks. The plays ed-ted from the folio of 623, by R. G. White. ost. 1862–66. 12 v.... 1394.1

*Contents.* — Vol. I. Preface; upplementary notes and cor-ections; Memoirs of Shake-peare; Shakespeare's will; hronological tables of Shake-peare's works; Notes on the ortraits and autograph signa-ures of Shakespeare; An ac-ount of the rise and progress the English drama to the me of Shakespeare; Essay n Shakespeare's genius; His-rical sketch of the text of hakespeare; Poems. II. Pre-minary matter to the folio of 23; Tempest; Two gentle-en of Verona; Merry wives Windsor. III. Measure for easure; The comedy of er-rs; Much ado about nothing; ove's labour's lost. IV. Mid-mmer-night's dream; Mer-hant of Venice; As you like ; Taming of the shrew. V. ll's well that ends well; welfth night, or what you ill; The winter's tale. VI. ng John; King Richard II; ng Henry IV, parts 1, 2. II. King Henry V; King enry VI, parts 1, 2; Essay the authorship of Henry . VIII. King Henry VI, rt 3; King Richard III; ng Henry VIII. IX. Tro-us and Cressida; Coriolanus; tus Andronicus. X. Romeo d Juliet; Timon of Athens; ulius Cæsar; Macbeth. XI. amlet; King Lear; Othello. II. Antony and Cleopatra; mbeline; Pericles; Appen-x.

medies, histories, tra-edies, and poems, with biography, and stud-s, by C. Knight. Lond. 353. 8 v..... 322.4

*Contents.* — *Comedies:* Vol. Two gentlemen of Verona; omedy of errors; Love's la-ur's lost; All's well that ds well; Taming of the rew; Midsummer night's eam; Merchant of Venice. Much ado about nothing; erry wives of Windsor; As u like it; Twelfth night; easure for measure; Win-'s tale; Tempest. — *His-ies:* III. King John; King chard II; King Henry IV, rts 1 and 2; King Henry V. King Henry VI, parts 1, 2, King Richard III; King nry VIII. — *Tragedies:* V. meo and Juliet; Hamlet; hello; Timon of Athens; ng Lear; Macbeth. VI.

Shelf. No.

SHAKESPEARE, W., *continued.*

Learning of Shakespeare; Tempest; Two gentlemen of Verona; Merry wives of Windsor. II. Measure for measure; Comedy of errors; Merchant of Venice; As you like it. III. Midsummer night's dream; Much ado about nothing; Love's labour's lost; Taming of the shrew. IV. All's well that ends well; Twelfth night; Winter's tale; Macbeth. V. King John; Richard II; Henry IV, parts 1 and 2. VI. King Henry V; King Henry VI, parts 1, 2, and 3. VII. Richard III; Henry VIII; Coriolanus. VIII. Julius Cæsar; Antony and Cleopatra; Timon of Athens; Titus Andronicus. IX. Troilus and Cressida; Cymbeline; King Lear; Romeo and Juliet. X. Hamlet; Othello; Pericles.

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*Contents.* — Vol. I [1]. Tempest; Two gentlemen of Verona; Merry wives of Windsor; Twelfth night; Measure for measure; [2.] Much ado about nothing; Midsummer night's dream; Love's labour's lost; Merchant of Venice; As you like it. II [3]. All's well that ends well; Taming of the shrew; Winter's tale; Comedy of errors; Macbeth; [4.] King John; King Richard II; King Henry IV, parts 1 and 2; King Henry V; III [5]. King Henry VI, parts 1–3; King Richard III; [6.] King Henry VIII; Troilus and Cressida; Timon of Athens; Coriolanus. IV [7]. Julius Cæsar; Antony and Cleopatra; Cymbeline; Titus Andronicus; Pericles; [8.] King Lear; Romeo and Juliet; Hamlet; Othello.

— Dramatic works. Edited by C. H. Wheeler. Lond. 1834 ..... 322.3

*Contents.* — Essay on the life and writings of Shakespeare; Coriolanus; Julius Cæsar; Antony and Cleopatra; Titus Andronicus; Troilus and Cressida; Timon of Athens; Pericles; Hamlet; Othello; Romeo and Juliet; Cymbeline; King Lear; Macbeth; King John; Richard II; Henry IV, parts 1 and 2; Henry V; Henry VI, parts 1–3; Richard III; Henry VIII; Midsummer night's dream; Tempest; Twelfth night; All's well that ends well; Two gentlemen of Verona; Love's labour's lost; Comedy of errors; As you like

SHAKESPEARE, W., *continue*

well; Taming of the shrew III. Winter's tale; Comedy o errors; Macbeth; King John Richard II; Henry IV, part IV. Henry IV, part 2; Henr V; Henry VI, parts 1–3. V Richard III; Henry VIII; Tro lus and Cressida; Timon; C riolanus. VI. Julius Cæsar Antony and Cleopatra; Cym beline; Titus Andronicus Pericles. VII. King Lear Romeo and Juliet; Hamlet Othello.

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*Contents.* — Vol. I. Memo of Shakespeare; Tempes Two gentlemen of Verona Comedy of errors; Merr wives of Windsor. II. Muc ado about nothing; As yo like it; Measure for measur Taming of the shrew. I All's well that ends wel Love's labour's lost; Midsum mer-night's dream; Twelft night. IV. Winter's tal King John; Richard II; Me chant of Venice. V. Hen IV, parts 1 and 2; Henry Henry VI, part 1. VI. Hen VI, parts 2 and 3; Richard II Henry VIII. VII. Romeo a Juliet; Hamlet; Othell VIII. Cymbeline; King Lea Troilus and Cressida. Macbeth; Timon of Athen Pericles; Titus Andronicu X. Julius Cæsar; Antony a Cleopatra; Coriolanus.

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*Contents.* — Vol. I. Measu for measure; The comedy errors; Much ado about not ing; Love's labour's lost; Mi summer-night's dream; M chant of Venice; As you li it. II. Taming of the shre All's well that ends we Twelfth night; Winter's tal King John; Richard II. Henry IV, parts 1 and 2; Ki Henry V; Henry VI, parts and 2. IV. Henry VI, part King Richard III; King Hen VIII; Troilus and Cressid Titus Andronicus. V. Cor lanus; Romeo and Juliet; mon of Athens; Julius C sar; Macbeth. VI. Cymb line; King Lear; Othel Hamlet; Antony and Cleo tra. VII. Pericles; The te pest; The two gentlemen Verona; Merry wives Windsor; Venus and Adon Rape of Lucrece; Sonne Lover's complaint; Passion pilgrim; Glossary; Life.